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Contents

	Page
THE WAR	
Radio address by the President of the United States on Washington's birthday	183
Relations with the French Government at Vichy	189
Mutual-aid agreement with Great Britain	190
Americans in the Far East	192
Rescue of personnel of United States ships by people of St. Lawrence, Newfoundland	193
Joint Mexican—United States Defense Commission	193
AMERICAN REPUBLICS	
Settlement of Peru-Ecuador boundary dispute:	
Resolution of Peruvian Congress	194
Statement by the Acting Secretary of State	194
Protocol of Peace, Friendship, and Boundaries	195
AUSTRALASIA	
Opening of direct radiotelegraph circuit with New Zealand	196
THE FOREIGN SERVICE	
Personnel changes	197
PUBLICATIONS	
TREATY INFORMATION	
Flora and fauna: Convention on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere	198
Mutual guarantees: Mutual-Aid Agreement With Great Britain	198
Boundaries: Protocol of Peace, Friendship, and Boundaries Between Ecuador and Peru	199
LEGISLATION	
REGULATIONS	



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The War

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY¹

[Released to the press by the White House February 23]

Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For eight years General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the 13 States there existed fifth columnists—selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since—a model of moral stamina. He held to his course as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure without freedom and free institutions.

The present great struggle has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air-lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling

battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered, but I know you will realize I cannot cover everything in any one report to the people.

The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our allies—protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them. The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to separate the United States, Britain, China, and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer".

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing ships. They advise us to pull our warships and our planes and our merchant-ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last-ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

¹ Delivered February 23, 1942.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East, and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America, and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China—to the brave people who, for nearly five years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counter-offensive—for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time, she could immediately extend her conquests to India, and through the Indian Ocean, to Africa and the Near East.

3. If we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of North Africa, and the whole coast of West Africa—putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If, by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counter-offensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is—flying high and striking hard.

I know that I speak for the mass of the American people when I say that we reject the turtle policy and will continue increasingly the policy of carrying the war to the enemy in distant lands and distant waters—as far as possible from our own home grounds.

There are four main lines of communication now being traveled by our ships: The North Atlantic, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, and the South Pacific. These routes are not one-way streets—for the ships which carry our troops and munitions out-bound bring back essential raw materials which we require for our own use.

The maintenance of these vital lines is a very tough job. It is a job which requires tremendous daring, tremendous resourcefulness, and, above all, tremendous production of planes and tanks and guns and of the ships to carry them. And I speak again for the American people when I say that we can and will do that job.

The defense of the world-wide lines of communication demands relatively safe use by us of the sea and of the air along the various routes; and this, in turn, depends upon control by the United Nations of the strategic bases along those routes.

Control of the air involves the simultaneous use of two types of planes—first, the long-range heavy bombers; and, second, light bombers, dive bombers, torpedo planes, and short-range pursuit planes, which are essential to the protection of the bases and of the bombers themselves.

Heavy bombers can fly under their own power from here to the southwest Pacific, but the smaller planes cannot. Therefore, these lighter planes have to be packed in crates and sent on board cargo ships. Look at your map again, and you will see that the route is long—and at many

places perilous—either across the South Atlantic around south Africa or from California to the East Indies direct. A vessel can make a round trip by either route in about four months, or only three round trips in a whole year.

In spite of the length and difficulties of this transportation, I can tell you that we already have a large number of bombers and pursuit planes, manned by American pilots, which are now in daily contact with the enemy in the southwest Pacific. And thousands of American troops are today in that area engaged in operations not only in the air but on the ground as well.

In this battle area Japan has had an obvious initial advantage. For she could fly even her short-range planes to the points of attack by using many stepping-stones open to her—bases in a multitude of Pacific islands and also bases on the China, Indochina, Thailand, and Malay coasts. Japanese troop transports could go south from Japan and China through the narrow China Sea, which can be protected by Japanese planes throughout its whole length.

I ask you to look at your maps again, particularly at that portion of the Pacific Ocean lying west of Hawaii. Before this war even started, the Philippine Islands were already surrounded on three sides by Japanese power. On the west the Japanese were in possession of the coast of China and the coast of Indochina, which had been yielded to them by the Vichy French. On the north are the islands of Japan themselves, reaching down almost to northern Luzon. On the east are the mandated islands, which Japan had occupied exclusively and had fortified in absolute violation of her written word.

These islands, hundreds of them, appear only as small dots on most maps, but they cover a large strategic area. Guam lies in the middle of them—a lone outpost which we never fortified.

Under the Washington Treaty of 1921 we had solemnly agreed not to add to the fortification of the Philippine Islands. We had no safe naval base there, so we could not use the islands for extensive naval operations.

Immediately after this war started, the Japanese forces moved down on either side of the

Philippines to numerous points south of them—thereby completely encircling the Islands from north, south, east, and west.

It is that complete encirclement, with control of the air by Japanese land-based aircraft, which has prevented us from sending substantial reinforcements of men and material to the gallant defenders of the Philippines. For 40 years it has always been our strategy—a strategy born of necessity—that in the event of a full-scale attack on the Islands by Japan, we should fight a delaying action, attempting to retire slowly into Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor.

We knew that the war as a whole would have to be fought and won by a process of attrition against Japan itself. We knew all along that with our greater resources we could outbuild Japan and ultimately overwhelm her on sea, on land, and in the air. We knew that to obtain our objective many varieties of operations would be necessary in areas other than the Philippines.

Nothing that has occurred in the past two months has caused us to revise this basic strategy—except that the defense put up by General MacArthur has magnificently exceeded the previous estimates, and he and his men are gaining eternal glory therefor.

MacArthur's army of Filipinos and Americans, and the forces of the United Nations in China, in Burma, and in the Netherlands East Indies, are all together fulfilling the same essential task. They are making Japan pay an increasingly terrible price for her ambitious attempts to seize control of the whole Asiatic world. Every Japanese transport sunk off Java is one less transport that they can use to carry reinforcements to their army opposing General MacArthur in Luzon.

It has been said that Japanese gains in the Philippines were made possible only by the success of their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I tell you that this is not so.

Even if the attack had not been made, your map will show that it would have been a hopeless operation for us to send the Fleet to the Philippines through thousands of miles of ocean while all those island bases were under the sole control of the Japanese.

The consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor—serious as they were—have been wildly exaggerated in other ways. These exaggerations come originally from Axis propagandists, but they have been repeated, I regret to say, by Americans in and out of public life.

You and I have the utmost contempt for Americans who, since Pearl Harbor, have whispered or announced “off the record” that there was no longer any Pacific Fleet—that the Fleet was all sunk or destroyed on December seventh—that more than 1,000 of our planes were destroyed on the ground. They have suggested slyly that the Government has withheld the truth about casualties—that eleven or twelve thousand men were killed at Pearl Harbor, instead of the figures as officially announced. They have even served the enemy propagandists by spreading the incredible story that shiploads of bodies of our honored American dead were about to arrive in New York harbor to be put in a common grave.

Almost every Axis broadcast directly quotes Americans who, by speech or in the press, make damnable misstatements such as these.

The American people realize that in many cases details of military operations cannot be disclosed until we are absolutely certain that the announcement will not give to the enemy military information which he does not already possess.

Your Government has unmistakable confidence in your ability to hear the worst without flinching or losing heart. You must, in turn, have complete confidence that your Government is keeping nothing from you except information that will help the enemy in his attempt to destroy us. In a democracy there is always a solemn pact of truth between government and the people, but there must also always be a full use of discretion—and that word “discretion” applies to the critics of government as well.

This is war. The American people want to know, and will be told, the general trend of how the war is going. But they do not wish to help the enemy any more than our fighting forces do, and they will pay little attention to the rumor-mongers and poison-peddlers in our midst.

To pass from the realm of rumor and poison to the field of facts: the number of our officers and men killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor on December seventh was 2,340, and the number wounded was 946. Of all the combatant ships based on Pearl Harbor—battleships, heavy cruisers, light cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines—only three were permanently put out of commission.

Very many of the ships of the Pacific Fleet were not even in Pearl Harbor. Some of those that were there were hit very slightly, and others that were damaged have either rejoined the Fleet by now or are still undergoing repairs. When those repairs are completed, the ships will be more efficient fighting machines than they were before.

The report that we lost more than a thousand airplanes at Pearl Harbor is as baseless as the other weird rumors. The Japanese do not know just how many planes they destroyed that day, and I am not going to tell them. But I can say that to date—and including Pearl Harbor—we have destroyed considerably more Japanese planes than they have destroyed of ours.

We have most certainly suffered losses—from Hitler’s U-boats in the Atlantic as well as from the Japanese in the Pacific—and we shall suffer more of them before the turn of the tide. But speaking for the United States of America, let me say once and for all to the people of the world: We Americans have been compelled to yield ground, but we will regain it. We and the other United Nations are committed to the destruction of the militarism of Japan and Germany. We are daily increasing our strength. Soon we, and not our enemies, will have the offensive; we, not they, will win the final battles; and we, not they, will make the final peace.

Conquered nations in Europe know what the yoke of the Nazis is like. And the people of Korea and of Manchuria know in their flesh the harsh despotism of Japan. All of the people of Asia know that if there is to be an honorable and decent future for any of them or for us, that future depends on victory by the United Nations over the forces of Axis enslavement.

If a just and durable peace is to be attained, or even if all of us are merely to save our own skins, there is one thought for us here at home to keep uppermost—the fulfilment of our special task of production.

Germany, Italy, and Japan are very close to their maximum output of planes, guns, tanks, and ships. The United Nations are not—especially the United States of America.

Our first job then is to build up production so that the United Nations can maintain control of the seas and attain control of the air—not merely a slight superiority but an overwhelming superiority.

On January sixth of this year I set certain definite goals of production for airplanes, tanks, guns, and ships. The Axis propagandists called them fantastic. Tonight, nearly two months later, and after a careful survey of progress by Donald Nelson and others charged with responsibility for our production, I can tell you that those goals will be attained.

In every part of the country, experts in production and the men and women at work in the plants are giving loyal service. With few exceptions, labor, capital, and farming realize that this is no time either to make undue profits or to gain special advantages, one over the other.

We are calling for new plants and additions to old plants and for plant conversion to war needs. We are seeking more men and more women to run them. We are working longer hours. We are coming to realize that one extra plane or extra tank or extra gun or extra ship completed tomorrow may, in a few months, turn the tide on some distant battlefield; it may make the difference between life and death for some of our fighting men. We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again. And we can lose this war only if we slow up our effort or if we waste our ammunition sniping at each other.

Here are three high purposes for every American:

1. We shall not stop work for a single day. If any dispute arises we shall keep on working while the dispute is solved by mediation, conciliation, or arbitration—until the war is won.

2. We shall not demand special gains or special privileges or advantages for any one group or occupation.

3. We shall give up conveniences and modify the routine of our lives if our country asks us to do so. We will do it cheerfully, remembering that the common enemy seeks to destroy every home and every freedom in every part of our land.

This generation of Americans has come to realize, with a present and personal realization, that there is something larger and more important than the life of any individual or of any individual group—something for which a man will sacrifice, and gladly sacrifice, not only his pleasures, not only his goods, not only his associations with those he loves, but his life itself. In time of crisis when the future is in the balance, we come to understand, with full recognition and devotion, what this Nation is and what we owe to it.

The Axis propagandists have tried in various evil ways to destroy our determination and our morale. Failing in that, they are now trying to destroy our confidence in our own allies. They say that the British are finished—that the Russians and the Chinese are about to quit. Patriotic and sensible Americans will reject these absurdities. And instead of listening to any of this crude propaganda, they will recall some of the things that Nazis and Japanese have said and are still saying about us.

Ever since this Nation became the arsenal of democracy—ever since enactment of Lend-Lease—there has been one persistent theme through all Axis propaganda.

This theme has been that Americans are admittedly rich and that Americans have considerable industrial power—but that Americans are soft and decadent, that they cannot and will not unite and work and fight.

From Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo we have been described as a nation of weaklings—"playboys"—who would hire British soldiers or Russian soldiers or Chinese soldiers to do our fighting for us.

Let them repeat that now!

Let them tell that to General MacArthur and his men.

Let them tell that to the sailors who today are hitting hard in the far waters of the Pacific.

Let them tell that to the boys in the flying fortresses.

Let them tell that to the Marines!

The United Nations constitute an association of independent peoples of equal dignity and importance. The United Nations are dedicated to a common cause. We share equally and with equal zeal the anguish and awful sacrifices of war. In the partnership of our common enterprise we must share in a unified plan in which all of us must play our several parts, each of us being equally indispensable and dependent one on the other.

We have unified command and cooperation and comradeship.

We Americans will contribute unified production and unified acceptance of sacrifice and of effort. That means a national unity that can know no limitations of race or creed or selfish politics. The American people expect that much from themselves. And the American people will find ways and means of expressing their determination to their enemies, including the Japanese admiral who has said that he will dictate the terms of peace here in the White House.

We of the United Nations are agreed on certain broad principles in the kind of peace we seek. The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world: disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

The British and the Russian people have known the full fury of Nazi onslaught. There have been times when the fate of London and Moscow was in serious doubt. But there was never the slightest question that either the British or the Russians would yield. And today all the United Nations salute the superb Russian Army as it celebrates the twenty-fourth anniversary of its first assembly.

Though their homeland was overrun, the Dutch people are still fighting stubbornly and powerfully overseas.

The great Chinese people have suffered grievous losses; Chungking has been almost wiped out of existence, yet it remains the capital of an unbeatable China.

That is the conquering spirit which prevails throughout the United Nations in this war.

The task that we Americans now face will test us to the uttermost.

Never before have we been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little time in which to do so much.

"These are the times that try men's souls."

Tom Paine wrote those words on a drumhead by the light of a campfire. That was when Washington's little army of ragged, rugged men was retreating across New Jersey, having tasted nothing but defeat.

And General Washington ordered that these great words written by Tom Paine be read to the men of every regiment in the Continental Army, and this was the assurance given to the first American armed forces:

"The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the sacrifice, the more glorious the triumph."

So spoke Americans in the year 1776.

So speak Americans today!

RELATIONS WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AT VICHY

[Released to the press February 27]

At the press conference on February 27 the Acting Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, said:

"The relations between the Government of the United States and the French Government of Vichy have been predicated upon the formal assurances given to this Government by the French Government upon repeated occasions that the French Government in its relations with the Axis powers will not exceed the terms of its armistice agreements with those powers, and in particular, that the French Government will in no wise relinquish to those powers any control over or use of French territorial possessions nor any control over nor use of the French fleet. The assurances received by the United States Government in this regard likewise include the assurance that the French Government will give no military assistance to the Axis powers.

"On February 10 the President sent a personal message to Marshal Petain informing him that the Government of the United States had been advised that supplies had been shipped from Metropolitan France to North Africa for the use of the Axis forces in Libya. The President made it clear that the position of France and the limitations placed upon France through the armistice agreements which had been signed with Germany and Italy are fully recognized and understood by the Government and the people of the United States. He stated further, however, that in the opinion of the Government of the United States, if France were to ship war materials or supplies to the Axis powers and to render assistance to these powers, or to take any action in that regard which France was not obligated to take under the terms of her armistice agreements, the French Government would place itself in the category of governments which are

directly assisting the declared enemies of the people of the United States. The President further stated that he was confident that any such action would be contrary to the wishes of the people of France and disastrous to their aspirations and to their final destiny.

"Since that time several additional communications have been exchanged between the two Governments.

"On February 24 the American Ambassador in Vichy received in writing a communication from the French Government.

"In the course of this communication the French Government stated that it affirmed once again its will to abstain from any action, under reservation of the obligations resulting to it from the armistice agreements, which would not be in conformity with the position of neutrality in which it had been placed since June 1940 and which it intended to maintain. The French Government further stated that it would not, therefore, lend any military aid to one of the belligerents in any place in the theater of operations, particularly the use of French vessels for the purposes of war, nor all the more, adopt a policy of assistance to the Axis powers beyond the terms of the armistice agreements.

"The British Government has been kept fully informed of the exchange of communications which has taken place between the French Government and the Government of the United States.

"While this statement of French policy as above set forth is of value in estimating the relations between this Government and the French Government at Vichy, further clarifications with regard to other important questions are awaited by this Government before it will be enabled to complete its examination of the present situation."

MUTUAL-AID AGREEMENT WITH GREAT BRITAIN

[Released to the press by the White House February 24]

An agreement between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on the principles applying to mutual aid in the prosecution of the war was signed on February 23 by the Acting Secretary of State and the British Ambassador.

The agreement was made under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941. By this act of the Congress, and the great appropriations by which it has been supported, this Nation is able to provide arms, equipment, and supplies to any country whose defense is vital to our own defense.

On December 7, 1941 we were attacked. We are now one of the 26 United Nations devoting all of their united strength to the winning of this war and to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. The vast resources which Providence has given us enable us to insure that our comrades in arms shall not lack arms. Congress has granted the authority and the means. United and equipped by the overwhelming productive power of their resources and ours, we shall fight together to the final victory.

Recent developments in the war have shown, if proof was required, the wisdom and necessity of the policy of lend-lease supplies to the United Nations. That policy continues and is expanding to meet the expanding needs of the fighting fronts. The agreement signed on February 23 reaffirms our purpose to supply aid to Great Britain. The British Government will supply this country with such reciprocal aid as it is in a position to give.

As to the terms of settlement between the two countries, the agreement states that it is too early in this struggle to foresee or define the precise and detailed terms. Instead the agreement lays down certain of the principles which are to prevail. These principles are broadly conceived, for the scale of aid is so vast that narrow conceptions of the terms of settlement would be as disastrous to our economy and to the welfare of our people as to the welfare of

the British people. Articles which at the end of the war can be returned to us and which we wish to have back, will be returned. Full account will be taken of all reciprocal aid.

The fundamental framework of the final settlement which shall be sought on the economic side is given in article VII. It shall be a settlement by agreement open to participation by all other nations of like mind. Its purpose shall be not to burden but to improve world-wide economic relations. Its aims will be to provide appropriate national and international measures to expand production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which, the agreement states, are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples, to eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, to reduce tariffs and other trade barriers, and, generally, to attain the economic objectives of the Atlantic Charter.

To that end article VII provides for the early commencement of conversations, within the framework which it outlines, with a view to establishing now the foundations upon which we may create after the war a system of enlarged production, exchange, and consumption of goods for the satisfaction of human needs in our country, in the British Commonwealth, and in all other countries which are willing to join in this great effort.

The text of the agreement follows:

"Whereas the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland declare that they are engaged in a cooperative undertaking, together with every other nation or people of like mind, to the end of laying the bases of a just and enduring world peace securing order under law to themselves and all nations;

"And whereas the President of the United States of America has determined, pursuant to the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, that the defense of the United Kingdom against aggression is vital to the defense of the United States of America;

"And whereas the United States of America has extended and is continuing to extend to the United Kingdom aid in resisting aggression;

"And whereas it is expedient that the final determination of the terms and conditions upon which the Government of the United Kingdom receives such aid and of the benefits to be received by the United States of America in return therefor should be deferred until the extent of the defense aid is known and until the progress of events makes clearer the final terms and conditions and benefits which will be in the mutual interests of the United States of America and the United Kingdom and will promote the establishment and maintenance of world peace;

"And whereas the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom are mutually desirous of concluding now a preliminary agreement in regard to the provision of defense aid and in regard to certain considerations which shall be taken into account in determining such terms and conditions and the making of such an agreement has been in all respects duly authorized, and all acts, conditions and formalities which it may have been necessary to perform, fulfil or execute prior to the making of such an agreement in conformity with the laws either of the United States of America or of the United Kingdom have been performed, fulfilled or executed as required;

"The undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective Governments for that purpose, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

"The Government of the United States of America will continue to supply the Government of the United Kingdom with such defense articles, defense services, and defense information as the President shall authorize to be transferred or provided.

ARTICLE II

"The Government of the United Kingdom will continue to contribute to the defense of the United States of America and the strengthening thereof and will provide such articles, services,

facilities or information as it may be in a position to supply.

ARTICLE III

"The Government of the United Kingdom will not without the consent of the President of the United States of America transfer title to, or possession of, any defense article or defense information transferred to it under the Act or permit the use thereof by anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the Government of the United Kingdom.

ARTICLE IV

"If, as a result of the transfer to the Government of the United Kingdom of any defense article or defense information, it becomes necessary for that Government to take any action or make any payment in order fully to protect any of the rights of a citizen of the United States of America who has patent rights in and to any such defense article or information, the Government of the United Kingdom will take such action or make such payment when requested to do so by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE V

"The Government of the United Kingdom will return to the United States of America at the end of the present emergency, as determined by the President, such defense articles transferred under this Agreement as shall not have been destroyed, lost or consumed and as shall be determined by the President to be useful in the defense of the United States of America or of the Western Hemisphere or to be otherwise of use to the United States of America.

ARTICLE VI

"In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the United Kingdom full cognizance shall be taken of all property, services, information, facilities, or other benefits or considerations provided by the Government of the United Kingdom subsequent to March 11, 1941, and accepted or acknowledged by the President on behalf of the United States of America.

"ARTICLE VII"

"In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the United Kingdom in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of worldwide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision for agreed action by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in interna-

tional commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers; and, in general, to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the Joint Declaration made on August 12, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

"At an early convenient date, conversations shall be begun between the two Governments with a view to determining, in the light of governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above-stated objectives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of other like-minded Governments.

"ARTICLE VIII"

"This Agreement shall take effect as from this day's date. It shall continue in force until a date to be agreed upon by the two Governments.

"Signed and sealed at Washington in duplicate this 23rd day of February, 1942."

AMERICANS IN THE FAR EAST

[Released to the press February 26]

The Swiss authorities have informed the American Legation at Bern that according to a telegram dated February 18, 1942 from the Swiss Consul at Shanghai, the entire personnel of the American Embassy at Peiping are safe.

The office of the American Consulate at Medan, Sumatra, Netherlands East Indies, was closed on February 16, 1942, and the American Consul there, Mr. John B. Ketcham, of Bayshore, N. Y., is now awaiting transportation from the island. Mrs. Ketcham is en route to the United States.

The entire staff of the former American Consulate General at Singapore was able to withdraw from that city before its occupation by the Japanese. Consul General Kenneth S. Patton, of Salem, Va., Consul Harold D. Robison, of Pleasant Grove, Utah, Vice Consul Charles O. Thompson, of Kalispell, Mont., have all arrived safely in Perth, Australia. Mmes. Patton, Robison, and Thompson are now en route to the United States. Consul Clayson W. Aldridge,

of Rome, N. Y., formerly of the Consulate General at Singapore, has been temporarily detailed to the American Consulate General at Batavia, Java. Mrs. Aldridge is in Australia. Mrs. Eileen Niven, of Seattle, Wash., also formerly with the Consulate General at Singapore, is also detailed temporarily to the Consulate General at Batavia. Vice Consul Robert Grinnell, of Dover, Mass., and Vice Consul Perry Ellis, of Andarko, Okla., formerly attached to the Consulate General at Singapore, and who were temporarily detailed to Darwin, Australia, have left for the interior. An attempt is being made to arrange air transportation for them to Brisbane or Adelaide en route to Sydney. Mr. Grinnell and Mr. Ellis are unmarried.

The members of the staff of the former Consulate General at Rangoon, Burma, have also been able to leave their post in safety. Consul General Lester L. Schnare, of Mondovi, Wis., and Vice Consul Martin J. Hillenbrand, of Youngstown, Ohio, have accompanied the Burma Government, which has withdrawn northward. Mrs.

Schnare is in the United States, and Mrs. Hillenbrand is en route to this country. Consul Robert B. Streeter, of Columbus, Ohio, is en route to his new post at Chungking via the Burma Road. Mrs. Streeter is in the United States. Consul Robert Buell, of Rochester, N. Y., has arrived at his new post at Calcutta. He is unmarried.

Consul Jesse F. Van Wickel, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Vice Consul V. Lansing Collins, of Princeton, N. J., formerly of the staff of the American Consulate General at Batavia, have left for Wellington, New Zealand. The remaining members of the staff of the Consulate General at Batavia are still at their post. Mrs. Walter Foote, wife of the American Consul General at Batavia, and Mrs. Collins have left Batavia for the United States.

Mr. Owen L. Dawson, of Frost, Mich., former American Consul at Shanghai, who was recently on a business trip to the Netherlands East Indies, has left Surabaya by boat for New Zealand. Mrs. Dawson is in this country.

[Released to the press February 27]

The French authorities have made available to the American Embassy at Vichy a report received from the French Consul General at Shanghai reading in part substantially as follows:

"Following the outbreak of hostilities, American diplomatic and consular representatives, twenty in number, who had been lodged in several hotels in the International Settlement were taken to the French Concession where they are now residing in a hotel with their wives and children.

"Other Americans holding official positions, forty-four in number, have received permission to remain either in their homes in the International Settlement or the French Concession. These persons 'enjoy perfect freedom'.

"The American consular officers are satisfied with their treatment. All concerned are in excellent health—in particular Mr. Frank P. Lockhart, the American Consul General, who has entirely recovered from typhus. Mr. Lockhart's home is in Pittsburgh, Texas."

RESCUE OF PERSONNEL OF UNITED STATES SHIPS BY PEOPLE OF ST. LAWRENCE, NEWFOUNDLAND

[Released to the press by the White House February 25]

The President through the Navy Department sent a message to the people of St. Lawrence, Newfoundland, in appreciation of their work in aiding personnel of the U.S.S. *Truxton* and the U.S.S. *Pollux*. The text follows:

"I have just learned of the magnificent and courageous work you rendered and of the sacrifices you made in rescuing and caring for the personnel of the United States ships which grounded on your shores. As Commander-in-Chief and on behalf of the Navy and as President of the United States on behalf of our citizens I wish to express my most grateful appreciation of your heroic action which is typical of the history of your proud seafaring community."

JOINT MEXICAN-UNITED STATES DEFENSE COMMISSION

An Executive order authorizing the creation of a joint commission to be known as the Joint Mexican-United States Defense Commission was signed by the President on February 27, 1942.¹ According to the Executive order the "purposes of the Commission shall be to study problems relating to the common defense of the United States and Mexico, to consider broad plans for the defense of Mexico and adjacent areas of the United States, and to propose to the respective governments the cooperative measures which, in its opinion, should be adopted." Provisions are made in the order for professional and clerical assistance and for the necessary office and travel expenses. The full text of the order is printed in the *Federal Register* of March 3, 1942, page 1607.

¹ *Bulletin* of January 17, 1942, p. 67.

American Republics

SETTLEMENT OF PERU-ECUADOR BOUNDARY DISPUTE RESOLUTION OF PERUVIAN CONGRESS

[Released to the press February 28]

The text of a telegram received on February 27 by the Acting Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, from Gerardo Balbuena, President of the Congress of Peru, follows:

"In session today full Congress unanimously approved following motion: The Congress of Peru, taking into consideration the lofty Americanist labor achieved by the representatives of the friendly countries who, together with the Foreign Ministers of Peru and Ecuador, signed the Rio de Janeiro agreement which has just been approved, declares that the Foreign Ministers of the United States of Brazil, Mr. Oswald Aranha, of the Argentine Republic, Mr. Enrique Ruiz-Guiñazú, of the Republic of Chile, Mr. Juan B. Rossetti, and the Under Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Sumner Welles, are deserving of the approbation and gratitude of Peru. Lima, February 26, 1942. E. Diez Canseco D., F. Dasso, Roberto MacLean y Estenos, Manuel B. Llosa.

"In transmitting to Your Excellency the resolution of the Peruvian Congress, I have the honor to offer you, with my most cordial greet-

ings, the assurance of my high and distinguished consideration."

The following note was sent by Mr. Welles in reply:

"I am profoundly grateful for Your Excellency's telegram of February 26, 1942 which quoted the text of a resolution approved by the Congress of Peru expressing the approbation and gratitude of Peru toward the representatives of the friendly powers who, in conjunction with the Foreign Ministers of Peru and Ecuador, signed the historic agreement at Rio de Janeiro for the termination of the boundary controversy. The Government of the United States has considered it a great honor to have been associated with the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile in the friendly conversations leading up to this historic event which represents a significant milestone in the establishment of amicable discussion as a means of settling differences between these American republics.

"I wish to take the opportunity to extend to you the assurance of my personal regard and of my highest consideration."

STATEMENT BY THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press February 28]

This Government has now been informed officially by the Government of Ecuador that the Congress of Ecuador has ratified the protocol of Rio de Janeiro which provides for the definitive settlement of the boundary controversy between Ecuador and Peru. As is known, the protocol of Rio de Janeiro was ratified by the Congress of Peru on February 26, 1942.

The final solution of this long-pending con-

troversy is a matter of the deepest satisfaction to the Government of the United States. It affords a further proof of the ability and determination of the American republics to settle all disputes between them by pacific methods. It has been a privilege for this Government to have been able, in association with the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, to participate in the extension of its good offices in furthering this final settlement.

PROTOCOL OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP, AND BOUNDARIES

[Translation]

The Governments of Ecuador and Peru, desiring to find a solution to the question of boundaries which for a long period of time has separated them, and taking into consideration the offer which was made to them by the Governments of the United States of America, of the Argentine Republic, of the United States of Brazil, and of Chile, of their friendly services to find a prompt and honorable solution to the problem, and moved by the American spirit which prevails in the Third Consultative Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, have resolved to celebrate a Protocol of peace, friendship and boundaries in the presence of the representatives of these four friendly Governments. To this end the following plenipotentiaries intervene:

For the Republic of Ecuador, Doctor JULIO TOBAR DONOSO, *Minister of Foreign Affairs*; and

For the Republic of Peru, Doctor ALFREDO SOLF Y MURO, *Minister of Foreign Affairs*;

Who, after having exhibited their full and respective powers on this subject and having found them in good and due form, agree to the signing of the following protocol;

Article One

The Governments of Ecuador and Peru solemnly affirm their decided proposal to maintain between the two peoples relations of peace and friendship, of understanding and of good faith and to abstain the one with respect to the other from any action capable of disturbing these relations.

Article Two

The Government of Peru will retire within a period of fifteen days from this date its military forces to the line described in Article Eight of this Protocol.

Article Three

The United States of America, Argentina, Brazil and Chile will cooperate, by means of military observers, in adjusting the circumstances of this occupation, the retirement of

troops, according to terms of the preceding Article.

Article Four

The military forces of the two countries will remain in their new positions until the definitive demarcation of the frontier line. In the interim, Ecuador will have only civil jurisdiction in the zones disoccupied by Peru which will be in the same condition as the demilitarized zone of Act Talara.

Article Five

The activity of the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Chile will continue until the definitive demarcation of frontiers between Ecuador and Peru has been completed. This Protocol and its execution will be under the guarantee of the four countries mentioned at the beginning of this Article.

Article Six

Ecuador will enjoy for the purposes of navigation on the Amazon and its northern tributaries the same concessions which Brazil and Colombia enjoy, in addition to those which were agreed upon in the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation designed to facilitate free and gratuitous navigation on the rivers referred to.

Article Seven

Any doubt or disagreement which shall arise in the execution of this Protocol shall be resolved by the parties concerned with the assistance of the representatives of the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Chile in as short a period of time as may be possible.

Article Eight

The boundary line shall be marked by the following points:

A)- In the west sector:

- 1)- Boca de Capones to the Pacific Ocean;
- 2)- The Zarumilla River and the Quebrada Balsamal or Lajas;

- 3)- The Puyango River or Tumbes to the Quebrada de Cazaderos;
- 4)- The Cazaderos;
- 5)- The Quebrada de Pilares and the Alamar to the Chira River;
- 6)- The Chira River upstream;
- 7)- The Macará, Calvas and Espíndola Rivers upstream to the sources of the last mentioned in the Nudo de Sabanillas;
- 8)- From the Nudo de Sabanillas to the Canchis River;
- 9)- Along the Canchis downstream;
- 10)- The Chinchipe River, downstream to the point at which it receives the San Francisco River.

B)- In the Oriente:

- 1)- From the Quebrada de San Francisco, the "divertium aquarum" between the Zamora and Santiago Rivers, confluence of the Santiago with the Yaupi.
- 2)- A line to the mouth of the Bobonaza at the Pastaza. The confluence of the Cunambo River with the Pintoyacu on the Tigre River.
- 3)- Mouth of the Cononaco on the Curaray, downstream to Bellavista.
- 4)- A line to the mouth of the Yasuni on the Napo River. Along the Napo downstream to the mouth of the Aguarico.
- 5)- Along this upstream to the confluence of the Lagartococha or Zancudo with the Aguarico.
- 6)- The Lagartococha River or Zancudo, upstream to its sources and from there a straight line which will meet the Guepi River and along this river to its mouth on the Putumayo, and along the Putumayo upstream to the boundary of Ecuador and Colombia.

Article Nine

It is understood that the line previously described will be accepted by Ecuador and Peru for the demarcation of the frontier between the two countries by technical experts on the

grounds. The parties can, however, in tracing the line on the ground, consent to reciprocal concessions which they may consider convenient in order to adjust the line to geographical realities. These rectifications shall be effectuated with the collaboration of the representatives of the United States of America, the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Chile.

The Governments of Ecuador and Peru will submit this Protocol to their respective Congresses and should obtain approval thereof within a period of not more than thirty days.

In witness whereof, the plenipotentiaries above-mentioned sign and seal, in two copies, in Spanish in the city of Rio de Janeiro at one a. m. on the twenty-ninth day of January, for the year nineteen hundred and forty-two, the present Protocol, under the auspices of His Excellency the President of Brazil and in the presence of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Chile and the Under Secretary of State of the United States of America.

J. TOBAR DONOSO
ALFREDO SOLF Y MURO
SUMNER WELLES
E. RUIZ GUIÑAZÚ
JUAN B. ROSSETTI
OSWALDO ARANHA

Australasia

OPENING OF DIRECT RADIOTELEGRAPH CIRCUIT WITH NEW ZEALAND

[Released to the press by the White House February 23]

In connection with the opening on February 23 of a direct radiotelegraph circuit between the United States and New Zealand, the President sent the following message to the Right Honorable Peter Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand, in Wellington:

"The establishment at this time of a direct radiotelegraph circuit between the United States

and New Zealand is another link in the ever tightening bonds between our two countries. It gives me great pleasure to make use of this new and rapid channel of communications to convey to you personally and through you to the people of New Zealand the warm and fraternal greetings of the American people and to assure you that we shall leave nothing undone to achieve our common objective of freeing our world once and for all of the forces of aggression."

The Prime Minister of New Zealand sent a message to the President, the text of which follows:

"The inauguration of direct radio communication today between New Zealand and the United States enables me to send you a cordial message of greetings and goodwill from the government and people of New Zealand and to wish you all good fortune in the days of stress that lie ahead. This further link will I trust serve to bind still closer the warm ties of longstanding friendship between the American and New Zealand peoples and it will undoubtedly provide a most valuable means of practical cooperation in the prosecution of the common task to which both peoples have set their hand—the achievement of complete and lasting victory over the enemies of freedom and democracy."

The Foreign Service

PERSONNEL CHANGES

[Released to the press February 28]

The following changes have occurred in the American Foreign Service since February 14, 1942:

Charles B. Beylard, of Philadelphia, Pa., Vice Consul at Nice, France, has been appointed Vice Consul at Lyon, France.

Ellis A. Bonnet, of Eagle Pass, Tex., formerly Consul at Amsterdam, Netherlands, has been designated Second Secretary of Embassy and Consul at Panamá, Panama, and will serve in dual capacity.

Robert L. Buell, of Rochester, N. Y., formerly Consul at Rangoon, Burma, has been assigned as Consul at Calcutta, India.

William C. Burdett, Jr., of Macon, Ga., has been appointed Vice Consul at Guayaquil, Ecuador.

Robert E. Cashin, of University City, Mo., has been appointed Vice Consul at Iquitos, Peru, where an American Vice Consulate will be established.

Clifton P. English, of Chattanooga, Tenn., Vice Consul at Buenos Aires, Argentina, has been appointed Foreign Service Officer, Unclassified, Secretary in the Diplomatic Service, and Vice Consul of Career, and has been assigned as Vice Consul at Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Frederick W. Eyssell, of Kansas City, Mo., has been appointed Vice Consul at Cartagena, Colombia.

C. Paul Fletcher, of Hickory Valley, Tenn., Consul at Alexandria, Egypt, has been assigned for duty in the Department of State.

Peter H. A. Flood, of Nashua, N. H., has been assigned as Foreign Service Officer to assist in Mexican claims work, with headquarters at the Consulate at Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico.

The assignment of Julian B. Foster, of Tuscaloosa, Ala., as Commercial Attaché at Stockholm, Sweden, has been canceled.

Harry F. Hawley, of New York, N. Y., formerly Consul at Gibraltar, has been assigned as Consul at Marseille, France.

Charles H. Heisler, of Milford, Del., Consul at Tunis, Tunisia, has been assigned as Consul at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

Heyward G. Hill, of Hammond, La., Second Secretary of Embassy and Consul at Panamá, Panama, has been designated Second Secretary of Embassy and Consul at Madrid, Spain, and will serve in dual capacity.

Martin J. Hillenbrand, of Chicago, Ill., formerly Vice Consul at Rangoon, Burma, has been assigned as Vice Consul at Bombay, India.

Charles F. Knox, Jr., of Maplewood, N. J., Assistant Commercial Attaché at Santiago, Chile, has been assigned for duty in the Department of State.

Sidney K. Lafoon, of Danieltown, Va., has been appointed Foreign Service Officer, Unclassified, Secretary in the Diplomatic Service, and Vice Consul of Career, and has been assigned for duty in the Department of State.

George D. LaMont, of Albion, N. Y., formerly Consul at Canton, China, has been assigned as Consul at Cayenne, French Guiana, where an American Consulate will be established.

William Frank Lebus, Jr., of Cynthiana, Ky., Vice Consul at Puerto Cortes, Honduras, has been appointed Vice Consul at Aruba, Dutch West Indies.

Oliver M. Marcy, of Newton Highlands, Mass., has been appointed Vice Consul at La Paz, Bolivia.

Allen W. Pattee, of Monmouth, Ill., has been appointed Vice Consul at Valparaiso, Chile.

Arthur R. Ringwalt, of Omaha, Nebr., formerly Second Secretary of Embassy at Peiping, China, has been assigned for duty in the Department of State.

The assignment of Wells Stabler, of New York, N. Y., as Vice Consul at Bogotá, Colombia, has been canceled.

Robert M. Taylor, of Seattle, Wash., formerly Vice Consul at Tientsin, China, has been assigned for duty in the Department of State.

The assignment of J. Kittredge Vinson, of Houston, Tex., as Vice Consul at Rangoon, Burma, has been canceled. In lieu thereof, Mr. Vinson has been assigned as Vice Consul at Karachi, India.

Woodruff Wallner, of New York, N. Y., Third Secretary of Embassy at Vichy, France, has been assigned as Vice Consul at Tunis, Tunisia.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Allocation of Tariff Quota on Heavy Cattle During the Calendar Year 1942: Proclamation by the President of the United States of America Issued December 22, 1941 Pursuant to the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada Signed November 17, 1938, and Related Notes. Executive Agreement Series 225. Publication 1691. 7 pp. 5¢.

Recommendations of the North American Regional Radio-Engineering Meeting: Arrangement Between the United States of America, Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico—Signed at Washington January 30, 1941; effective March 29, 1941. (Supplemental to North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement, Habana, 1937.) Executive Agreement Series 227. Publication 1681. iv, 52 pp. 10¢.

Treaty Information

Compiled in the Treaty Division

FLORA AND FAUNA

Convention on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere

Venezuela

The Director General of the Pan American Union transmitted to the Secretary of State with a letter dated February 18, 1942 a copy of the list of species of Venezuelan flora and fauna which was furnished to the Union by the Government of Venezuela for inclusion in the annex to the Convention on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on October 12, 1940.

Erratum: The statement appearing on page 159 of the *Bulletin* for February 14, 1942 regarding the date of the deposit of the instrument of ratification by Venezuela of this convention should read November 3, 1941, not December 2, 1941 as stated.

MUTUAL GUARANTIES

Mutual-Aid Agreement With Great Britain

The text of an agreement between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, signed February 23, 1942, on the principles applying to mutual aid in the prosecution of the war, appears in this *Bulletin* under the heading "The War".

BOUNDARIES

Protocol of Peace, Friendship, and Boundaries Between Ecuador and Peru

A translation of the text of the protocol of peace, friendship, and boundaries, signed by Ecuador and Peru at Rio de Janeiro January 29, 1942, appears in this *Bulletin* under the heading "American Republics".

Legislation

Fifth Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Bill for 1942:

Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 77th Cong., 2d sess., on H.R. 6611 [lend-lease, pp. 30-35]. 51 pp.

S. Rept. 1113, 77th Cong., on H.R. 6611. 4 pp.

Regulating Water-Borne Commerce of the United States. S. Rept. 1117, 77th Cong., on H.R. 6291. 9 pp.

Joint Resolution Amending section 7 of the Neutrality Act of 1939. Approved February 21, 1942. [S.J.Res. 133.] Public Law 459, 77th Cong. 1 p.

An Act Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes [including \$150,000 for contingent expenses, Department of State, and \$5,000,000 for emergencies arising in the Diplomatic and Consular Service]. Approved February 21, 1942. [H.R. 6548]. Public Law 463, 77th Cong. 26 pp.

An Act For the relief of certain Basque aliens. Approved February 19, 1942. [S. 314.] Private Law 286, 77th Cong. 1 p.

Regulations

Export Control Schedule C. February 20, 1942. (Board of Economic Warfare.) 7 *Federal Register* 1492.